1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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hesitancy is easily overcome. This distaste applies more particularly to close relatives: still there is none of the abhorrence manifested by an Apache or Navaho against the mention of his dead. The usual circumlocution is Manakadja's grandfather (*mánakhádjid ʼaʼlaapdédj; ahpʼípd*, father's father) or Panimida's dead father (*pánámʼdápánatsiedj; djíatípd*, father). The word *nádjéémat ípd* means to hear the name of a dead relative spoken. 551

Infants are said to be named when they begin to play about and take an interest in the world, that is, at about one year. I find however that not a single child of one or two years has a name, only three boys of three are named, and every boy of five, and even one of seven, lacks a name so far as my informant knows. Evidently the need of a name awaits the creation of a personality even more than my informant believed. I do not know how these children are addressed, but they are referred to descriptively. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or happening. They are given by grandparents as a rule, perhaps those with whom they live, rather than by their parents. Names are not family property; in fact they seem to be freely invented. Sometimes the child is re-named when it reaches maturity. Men are very commonly re-named in reference to their marriages, but women are not. For example, if a girl refuses a young man's advances, fights him off, or pours water on him, someone may give him a nickname in derision. New names are often casually given both men and women in later life. Sometimes a person will conceal his name from a foreign Indian, inventing another on the spur of the moment. 553 551 553 [603]

I have obtained the names of all Havasupai with the reason currently given for their use and their derivation according to Jess Checkapaayega. The meanings are certain only where there is a tale to account for the name. I suspect that in many cases Jess analyzed the words where it could not be legitimately done, because such peculiar compounds result as *wanaskwánd*, house-standing, which is "just a name," for it does not mean standing house according to him, but is simply the coupled words for house and standing. In other words, these are probably meaningless names. All words beginning with *wa* and *wi*, supposed to be *Adad*, house, and *dwí*, rock, are in this suspect class. 115 551 551

There are no marked sex differences, but somewhat more women have names referring to vegetation. Hat, house, and rock names are peculiar to men. Many men's names begin with *pa*, for *dpá*, man: since this type of name is restricted to men (with a single exception) the meaning may be "man who—" or "man with—", but I have preserved

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meals prepared for them. Blind Bert's relatives, including a newly 758
acquired son-in-law, helped him about at the dance. But in some cases,
such attentions are short-lived as though people were impatient. Thus
the real burden of Bert's care fell on his wife's shoulders, although he had
adult children in the same camp. On the other hand, note Sinyella's
story of how he got shaman after shaman for his son (p. 280). Expres-
sions of real concern for an ailing relative are by no means uncommon.

While the formal expression of sympathy for grief may take the form 152
of a forced wailing, real sympathy is certainly voiced. For example, 571
the men refrained for some time from using the customary sweathulge,
situated near the home of a man whose brother had recently died, be-
cause, as they said, the relatives were sad. The dead man's young son [736]
was treated with the greatest tenderness by his maternal grandparents, [603]
who now took charge of him.

Personal cleanliness is, I think, somewhat greater than among the 515
Zuñi and White Mountain Apache. Children spend summer days splash- [711]
ing in the creek, and men and women bathe in the sweathulge and creek,
somewhat indiscriminately. Men are not always careful to avoid ex- [834]
posure. Men are somewhat cleaner than women. Clothing is only in- [296]
frequently washed: women wear their cotton slips while in the creek.
Not much lousing or scratching is seen.

Estimates of individual worth are based on abilities, yet here, as 554
always, values follow conventional standards. Chiefs become such by 624
prestige and renown based on their personal qualities (dignity, industry,
and even temper), on their wisdom, bravery, and friendship with foreign-
ers. A man who would otherwise inherit chieftainship, yet lacks these
qualities, would fail of receiving it. Chiefs are not gauged on their
hospitality or liberality. Three of the six chiefs are recognized as the
best speech makers in the tribe; an evaluation which even an outsider
must agree is just. Rock Jones, the shaman, is credited with being best
acquainted with the folk-tales, as well as being the best raconteur.

One individual, a man of middle-age, is known as an habitual liar. 558
His veracity is held at such low value that no one repeats a statement of
his without prefixing, "P—— said this." Captain Burro, now elderly,
seems to have been a butt all his life. As a boy he was the subject of the
smudge-punishment, as a young man his marksmanship was held in dis-
dain, and today he suffers the jokes of the young men and the indiffer-
ence of his peers.

Some women have reputations as basket makers. The criterion is 555
apparently regularity of stitch, although the best of Havasupai products
is inferior in this regard.

592 father, mother, and siblings, included one or both of his paternal grandparents. It might also include paternal uncles, together with their wives and children, and unmarried paternal uncles and aunts. Occasionally, there might be attached to the household other relatives of the child's father, such as a widowed sister and her children, a widowed brother and his children, a divorced brother or sister with or without children, an illegitimate or orphaned niece or nephew, or a sibling of the child's father's parents or grandparents. Despite the range of possibilities in kinship associations in an extended family sharing a common residence, the average number of persons included in a camp 35 years ago was 4.2 individuals (Spier 1928, 210). The composition of the household might include any combination of relatives listed in the foregoing description. The number of persons living in a reservation household in 1951 varied from a mean of 4.9 in July to a mean of 3.7 in December. The largest unit living as one household included 17 individuals, while two households were occupied by lone widowers.

5714 5793 602 621 In former times, during plateau residence, a child may have had less contact with those relatives who did not belong to his residence group than he has today within the confines of the canyon. But there were even then frequent periods of visiting between related families. Tribal members gathered for dances during the planting and harvesting seasons. Related families ordinarily met for the observance of such rituals as those accompanying birth or death of kinsmen. The small size of the community in Cataract Canyon, after the Havasupai settled more permanently there, brought about an extremely close association between a child and those relatives who did not belong to his camp residence group. All families in the canyon are fairly close neighbors, and children, from an early age, are free to visit about at the homes of relatives and friends.

Kinship

602 ●603 [591] [848] [591] An individual professes an equal regard for his paternal and maternal grandparents, but it is frequently confessed that a closer bond is shared with those grandparents who were members of his childhood residence group. Although residence usually was patrilocal, this was never an inflexible rule, and today there is a trend for young couples to set up individual camps within a few years after marriage, especially if the husband seeks employment outside the canyon. An illegitimate child, or an orphaned child, is almost always the ward of, or in the residence group of, his maternal grandparents for a part of his life, if they are living. Thus, a child reared by his parents is likely to be more closely associated with his paternal grandparents, whereas a child who lives apart from parents, or who survives them, is likely to be more closely associated with his maternal grandparents. In accordance with the ideal cultural norms, the paternal grandmother is the one with whom a child resides, whereas the maternal grandmother has the prerogative of performing certain roles in connection with the birth of a child, depending upon the circumstances existing in a particular situation.

848 847 178 culture pattern regulating premarital sexual activity; (2) abortion, and/or (3) infanticide. Greater premarital sexual freedom is the reason given by the Havasupai to explain their belief that illegitimate births are on the increase. The practice of abortion is acknowledged for both present and past times. Informants, now cognizant of Christian ethics, readily described a method of abortion, but became vague concerning cases in point and [114] [845] denied any knowledge that infanticide ever was practiced. However, Spier (1928, 301) describes the destruction of a female twin by burial. The practice of infanticide for removing an unwanted twin suggests the possibility of a similar fate for illegitimate infants.

848 Because paternity of an illegitimate child is very often in doubt, and the mother usually is living with her parents, such a child is born in the household of his maternal grandparents, where he remains at least until his mother marries. His mother may leave her child to the care of his grandparents if she goes away for employment or other reasons. A child's age at the time of his mother's marriage appears to have some bearing upon his future residence. A nursing infant or a very young child is likely to accompany his mother. Reasons appear to be: (1) a young child's greater dependency upon his mother for nursing and other care; (2) absence of strong attachments which often exist between an older child and his grandparents; and (3) possibly a stepfather's quicker acceptance of a very young child. However, men appear to accept stepchildren of all ages quite readily. If an illegitimate child's mother marries a man who believes himself to be the child's real father, the child, regardless of age, usually resides with his mother and her husband; at least, no example to the contrary could be discovered. Temporary maternal residence, if it is prac- [591] ticed, provides an illegitimate child and his stepfather an opportunity to accept or to reject one another before any decision concerning future residence need be made. Family residence patterns, however, are plastic enough to permit a change if an illegitimate child or a stepchild is unwanted or himself wishes to leave his mother's household. If grandparents or other close relatives were willing, such a child would simply join their camp, either on a temporary or a permanent basis.

848 603 Occasionally, the grandparents of an illegitimate child show more concern for him than does his mother. In one example, an illegitimate baby born at Tuba City was given by his mother to a nurse at the hospital. The mother had attempted to conceal her pregnancy and denied to friends that she had had a child. Her father, however, got the truth from her and recovered the baby, who lived with his grandparents during infancy and eventually became the ward of a bachelor paternal granduncle.

In another example, an illegitimate boy of two years lived with his maternal grandparents in Grand Canyon Indian Village, while his mother, employed as a cabin girl, lived nearby with some girls her own age. His mother spent most of her leisure hours with her girl friends, or preparing for and keeping dates with boys. The boy's grandmother, who cared for

six small children of her own and for her aged mother, paid little attention to him beyond feeding and clothing him. He received some expression of affection from his grandfather, but, upon such occasions, his uncle, who was the same age, showed jealousy. The little boy was picked on by his slightly older uncles, but the grandparents interfered verbally if they noticed the situation, or if the small victim cried. The little boy's blind and nearly helpless great-grandmother, sitting on some rags beside the cooking fire, seemed aware of his plight, for whenever she heard him crying or protesting, she extended her arms in the direction of this voice, and in response to her call, he would take refuge in her arms, seeming to find solace in the clasp of her withered hands for a few moments. Two years later, when the boy's mother married the father of her next child, he went to live with his mother and stepfather in a Hopi village. There, his mother treated him affectionately and expressed concern over the problem of his adjustment to the new environment. "It's hard for him here," she said, "when he's just learning the language and he's different from all the other children." (The boy's own father also was said to be a Hopi). When this marriage ended in divorce, the boy with his mother returned to her people, where he lived alternately with his mother, his grandparents, or other relatives. 848 609 [586]

When grandparents assume responsibility for an illegitimate child, they may do so merely because the child is left with them against their wishes. In the case cited above, the grandmother strongly disapproved of her daughter's "running around with boys," so the daughter left home to avoid frequent quarreling with her mother. The little boy was left with his grandmother because there was no one else to care for him while his mother was working and dating. His grandmother complained to the boy's mother that she was neglecting him unnecessarily, and tried to persuade her to pay more attention to the boy.

Grandparents who voluntarily assume responsibility for an illegitimate child appear concerned lest the child be lost to their kinship group. Also, they may be interceding temporarily in the hope that the child's mother later will awaken to her responsibility. Mothers who abandon or show little concern for their illegitimate offspring may do so because of emotional immaturity, because of a greater interest in finding a husband than in playing the role of mother or because of economic factors. Occasionally, an illegitimate child is the ward of an aunt or of a more distant relative.

Other children taunt an illegitimate child saying, "Where is your father?" An informant remarked that illegitimate children "are always mean," but observation failed to substantiate this. Perhaps fellow tribesmen are especially cognizant of aggressive or belligerent behavior shown by an illegitimate child. Illegitimate children appear to have no constellation of personality traits clearly differentiated from those of legitimate children, but data obtained are too incomplete to support a conclusive statement at this time. [578] [157]

small children. It was whispered at the time that her father no longer wanted her. 586

In the third divorce, the wife left her first husband to marry his younger brother, and these three individuals have continued to associate and cooperate in a manner which would have been improbable had not the two men been brothers. The ex-husband undoubtedly has had closer association with his children than would have been likely under other circumstances. He has not remarried. His adult son, also divorced, now spends some time with him.

In another divorce, that of the son mentioned above, which was precipitated by an affair the wife had with another man, the four children divided their time between their two grandmothers. The paternal grandmother was particularly attached to the youngest child, a girl of two years, and refused to let the mother have her except for short periods of time. The eldest child liked to divide her time between her two grandmothers for in each camp was an aunt near her own age. The second girl preferred her maternal grandmother, whereas the boy was almost as favored by his paternal grandmother as was the two-year-old girl. These two children also divided their residence between the grandmothers, each one, however, spending a larger share of time with the favored grandmother. When the mother remarried about a year later, she took the three older children and an illegitimate baby, born between marriages, to live with their stepfather. The paternal grandmother still refused to part with the youngest child. She takes this little girl wherever she goes, regardless of the residence of the child's father, who spends part of his time away working. 586 603

In the three remaining instances of divorce involving children, the mothers have clear custody of all the children, but the fathers visit their children; and the children are free to visit their fathers and their paternal relatives, sometimes for rather extended periods. It has not been possible to determine, in these cases, whether or not friction exists between the divorced parents over custody or other problems pertaining to the children, but such disagreement as may occur appears, on the surface, to be of minor significance. 586

Children of divorced parents apparently are seldom rejected by either parent. Undoubtedly there is some loss of security when the home is broken, but it may be hazarded that trauma is less severe than that suffered by white children of divorce. The Havasupai child very seldom is deprived of association with either parent. Nearly always the child remains in fairly close or regular association with one parent, and visits the other occasionally. As he grows older, he is permitted considerable freedom in choosing his residence with either parent, and in addition, he has a number of close associations with grandparents and other relatives. The absence of a legal battle and formal legal arrangements concerning the child no doubt permit a minimum of emotional stress for the child at the time of divorce. In certain instances a child may suffer when the parents or other relatives vie to

orphans fail to find security; it is not suggested that the best of relatives are ever perfect parents surrogate. In a strictly economic consideration, several children thrust upon a family constitute a significant burden in a society which has a median annual cash income per family of less than $300 (Kelly, 1953, 56) and which in former times maintained a low subsistence level. 736 [511]

While a widow has a right, and is expected, to return to her parents' home, she may reside independently. This arrangement occurred in a few cases of land inheritance from the husband. If a widow is young, she may leave her children with one or the other set of grandparents and seek work off the reservation. This, of course, is a fairly recent change in custom. In former times a widow, wherever she lived, continued gathering and gardening activities and camp work, a continuation of previous responsibilities. It may have been necessary for her to spend less time with her children, or to leave their care to someone else due to her greater economic burden. Even if she were living in the household of a relative, she probably would find it necessary to play a larger economic role than previously. Addition of nonproducing dependents meant a strain on food resources of a household already on a meager subsistence level. 736 768

In at least two instances within the last two decades, grandparents have sought custody of grandchildren upon the death of one parent. In the first case, a father who resides off the reservation was left with two small children for whom he arranged temporary care with other families. When the maternal grandfather discovered that his infant grandson had been left on the Walapai reservation, he had the baby brought to him in Supai. The father demanded immediate return of the child, and after some conflict and final intervention by Indian Service personnel, the boy was returned to his father. What settlement would have been reached in the absence of outside authoritative interference is uncertain. 736 768 603

In the second example, a paternal grandfather refused to let his widowed daughter-in-law have her small son. The widow's entire marriage had been spent in patrilocal residence, where she was the only woman in the household. Her father-in-law had been greatly attached to her husband and was similarly devoted to his grandson. The widow's mother was dead and her own father's second marriage was disrupted by frequent separations and change of residence so that the widow had little incentive to join her father's unstable household. Following her husband's death, the widow found employment at Grand Canyon, but her father-in-law refused to permit her child to leave his house in spite of the fact there was no woman present to care for the boy. Again, intervention by Indian Service employees placed the boy in the mother's custody when she was able to provide care for him. The widow has now remarried, and her son lives with her in the household of her new husband's parents. The behavior of the widow's former father-in-law in this instance appears to be an example of the manner in which individuals of aggressive or forceful mien occasionally flaunt traditional patterns. [591]

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that menstrual blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason a menstruating woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would not come in contact with her. If an unused house or brush shelter was conveniently located near her camp, a woman might occupy this for a few days, but no menstrual hut was purposefully erected. At present a menstruating woman should not enter a sweatlodge. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweatlodge. 841 881 [777] [224] [343]

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female or male, may take charge of the ceremony. 981

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself. The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of the girl's father. [184]

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult, could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other interviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and this grandfather, with whom she lived as a child and who "was always telling me stories and teaching me the right things to do." [603]

The puberty ceremony in complete form as described here, is seldom, if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of powdered ocher. In practice, almost any combination of features from the prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sunset. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work at this time. 881 177

Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices

In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, ornamentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some attention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the court- 291 302 832

Social Behavior and Relationships

Admonition and Instruction

In former times, all four grandparents of a young girl lectured her on proper behavior. They instructed her to behave politely and sensibly rather than foolishly in the presence of a man. She was told to perform her tasks willingly and quickly. It is said that a girl's own parents were considered too young to advise her properly, but she was expected to obey them. 603 861 867

A girl should conduct herself modestly whenever visitors came to her parents' camp, remaining discreetly in the background unless she knew the visitors well. When they saw how circumspectly she behaved, they would know she was a good girl. After she married, or if she were in charge of her father's camp, she should cook and serve food to visitors, even if there were only meager supplies on hand. A girl should show respect to her elders; in her own family group, as with strangers, she must always be polite. She should obey her father, her uncles, and her grandfathers. She might behave with less restraint in their company when other men were not present. 867

A girl should help her mother with the camp work, watching closely how each thing was done and listening to her mother's instructions. A girl must take good care of her younger brothers and sisters so she would know what to do for her own babies. She must go frequently with her mother to gather wild seeds, pinyon nuts, juniper berries, mescal, soapweed, and other useful plants so she would learn to recognize each growing thing, and would understand how to gather and prepare it for use. A girl should also go with her parents to help in the fields and to learn how corn, beans, and squash were planted and harvested.

If her father were dead or away on a hunting trip, a girl should obey her grandfather, her uncles, or her elder brothers, for they were head of the family in the father's place and would know what to do if trouble came or if there were family work to do. A girl was expected to arise before dawn, and she should keep busy all day. No man wanted a lazy wife, and he might leave her if she kept a poor camp or neglected her children.

Grandparental and Other Relations

In addition to these instructions, a girl's grandfathers told her stories as soon as she could understand. The grandmothers also knew the stories, but they did not tell them if there was a man present who could do so. These stories, which concerned the origin of various customs and beliefs, usually cited examples of moral values or proper behavior patterns. All children, both girls and boys, loved to gather around a grandfather whenever he chose to favor them with stories. 603 538 867

603 Close bonds often exist today between grandparents and grandchildren. A large number of present day adults were at one period or another, in their formative years, dependent upon someone standing in the grandparent relationship to them, this category including siblings of all four lineal grandparents. Children of divorced parents and those who lose either or both parents in death customarily live with a grandparent in preference to an aunt, an uncle, or an older sibling. If no lineal grandparent is available, siblings of the lineal grandparents often accept responsibility for the children. Children who are not orphans dependent upon their grandparents often are part of an extended family residing with, or closely grouped with, the paternal grandparents. Thus, there is an opportunity for close association with at least one set of grandparents. A child living on the reservation seldom dwells far from his grandparents, even though residence may be in another household.

Association between a granddaughter and her grandmothers is close throughout a girl's early life. A grandmother takes delight in watching her grandchildren at play, and usually shares an affectionate relationship with them. In the normal course of events, a grandmother has more time free from household tasks than she did when her own children were small. Association between a granddaughter and her grandmother appears to become closer as a small girl begins to share more fully in domestic tasks if the two are members of the same household. Although a girl's association with her own mother is usually very close if her mother is living, she forms a tie with her grandmother second only to that with her mother. If a girl is motherless, a grandmother, or several grandmothers, play the roles of mother and grandmother to her simultaneously. In one instance in which an [848] illegitimate girl was reared entirely by her maternal grandmother after her own mother married, the bond between grandmother and granddaughter appears to be that of mother and daughter, and the girl's own mother plays only a slightly larger role in her life than do the maternal aunts.

[461] The work delegated to a young girl, aside from tending her younger siblings, is often shared with her grandmother. Together the old woman and young girl in former times would undertake a day's trip on the plateau or would climb from Cataract Canyon to the Esplanade to gather wild plants. They might work together in the fields or perhaps work in camp while the girl's mother undertook more strenuous tasks.

long one and for that or other reasons some women still give birth at home. 844
It is recognized that a hospital birth is safest if anything irregular happens 177
to mother or infant. In recent years, two emergency cases have been airlifted by helicopter to medical attention, but there are times when telephone service is interrupted and no help can be summoned quickly. (In the summer of 1958 the agent was attempting to persuade every expectant mother to leave Supai for delivery, only a small percentage of births still occurred in the village unattended by qualified medical personnel.)

Relationship between Mother and Children

Although a Havasupai mother's waking hours are mostly occupied with 593
household tasks, the pace of activity is slow. Much of her work centers 461
about the care of her children, and the nature of most tasks is such that she 855
can be within sight and hearing of her children most of the time.

Cooking and much of a woman's other work is accomplished under a brush shelter or in the open, and family activities thus are centered in the outdoor camp area in good weather. Because of this a Havasupai mother spends nearly all of her waking hours in close association with her small children. Houses are used for shelter in inclement weather, but otherwise they serve mostly as sleeping quarters and storage space. A married woman has no round of daily household cleaning and other tasks to isolate her from her children who, like all youngsters, like to spend most of their time outdoors.

A mother keeps her cradled infant close at hand where as she works [854]
she can talk to it, fondle it, and take it up at her whim or the baby's signal. She permits her child the freedom of the camp area as it learns to crawl and then to walk, but usually its mother is the center of a small child's play orbit.

A mother may lavish somewhat more attention on her first child or two merely because she has less work to do and other children are not competing for time. A young mother in an extended household receives some assistance in child care from her mother or mother-in-law as well as from other women and young girls of the kin group. Normally, a mother assumes the primary responsibility for all of her own children, but there is always some relative who will care for her children if she is unwilling or unable to do so.

Intrafamily Conflict

Occasionally, a grandmother competes for a child's affection or interferes with a mother's training or disciplinary methods. In such instances, resentment may arise between grandparents and parents, jealousy and fric- 603 593 578 604

593 tion usually developing between affinal relatives, particularly mother-in-
578 law and daughter-in-law. One recent divorce stemmed from such a situa-
603 tion. The divorced woman told the investigator, "She (the mother-in-law)
604 wouldn't let me do anything with my children the way I wanted to. Every time I corrected or tried to punish one, she stopped me and petted my children so I couldn't do a thing with them. I tried and tried, but I just got [586] tired of it, so finally I quit trying. That's why I started running around and thinking about a divorce." In this instance, after the divorce, the mother-in-law kept two of the children with her against the daughter-in-law's wishes.

While a mother may harbor minor resentments against grandparents arising from differences over her children, serious disagreements seem to be infrequent. The common course at present when friction exists in an extended family is for the younger married couple to move away.

Economic Training

868 When a mother must work in the fields or hunt for wild plants, she takes her children along if the situation permits. Otherwise, she leaves
462 them with a relative. She teaches small girls and boys to help her in her easier tasks, and as her daughters grow they share her daily work. Although a woman's sons are permitted more free time and their work is with their father, they also help her with some of the campwork at her bidding or by their own inclination. A woman does much of her work sitting on the [516] ground, and it is a common thing for her to ask her son of any age to bring an article to her or to perform some small task merely because she doesn't wish to get up. Camp routine is such that any member of the family may sometimes help with whatever work needs doing. Boys in a family do not expect their mother or sisters to wait upon them in small things they can easily do for themselves.

Relationship between a mother and her children includes respect for
593 the former, which seems to grow out of the child's affection and realization
861 of obligation rather than from any demand for it. While a mother expects obedience and exercises a certain firmness, she resorts to punishment infrequently and is generally quite indulgent with small children. She appears to win respect and obedience through kindness and unending patience. Nagging was never observed. A child is seldom given the same request or command more than once or twice; if he does not comply in a reasonable time, he is rebuked or punished, or more frequently the matter is dropped, at least for the time being.

Care of Others' Children

854 Adult women, married or unmarried, may temporarily or permanently
736 assume the role of mother to one or more children not their own but usually

[Text continues on page 130]